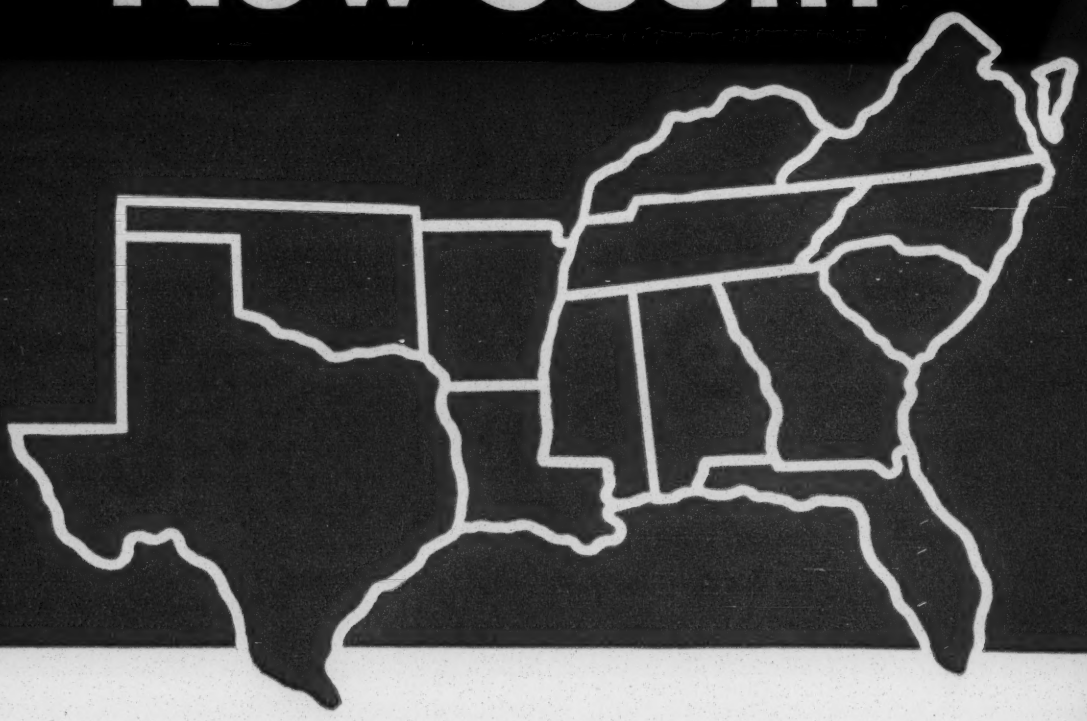
New South



- **'Standing Up' for the American Dream**
  Frank Graham
- **Birmingham Blues**
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New South

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New South Notes

Sound and effective leadership for the South in the present crisis has become the region's most pressing need.

In the June, 1960, issue of *New South*, Dr. Tilman C. Cothran spoke of the South's potential and responsibility. To realize this potential and assume this responsibility, the South needs leaders who are able to guide the region into solutions which will be assets to the region rather than additional stumbling blocks to its promising future.

The two major articles in this issue deal with the South and leadership.

The lead article, by Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations representative and former President of the University of North Carolina, discusses the leadership of the South in relation to the world and universal rights. He is particularly intrigued with the student movement and its portent of future leadership.

Dr. Ben I. Heller, who until June, 1960, was associated with the School of Medicine of the University of Arkansas, discusses leadership in regard to Arkansas and the South. The four major leadership groups, he states, are the church, business and professional groups, media and schools, colleges and universities. Dr. Heller discusses the role each of these has played in Arkansas and is playing in the South.

Rounding out the leadership theme is an editorial reprint from the *New Republic* which discusses the leadership role in a specfic situation, that of Birmingham.

Students 'Standing Up' for the American Dream*

By Dr. Frank Graham

United Nations Representative
for India and Pakistan
and
Former President
University of North Carolina

Amid the responsibilities and opportunities of this age, people live in a world of tensions, revolutions and terrors. The hot fuses of colonialism, racialism and totalitarianism, implanted in the accelerating time-bombs of our dynamic global society, can blow this world to pieces. In a world made fatefully one during the last 500 years by the Commercial, the Industrial and the Atomic Revolutions in reenforcing succession, it is now thermo-nuclear axiom that the people in both hemispheres will survive or perish together by the determination, at this late hour, of their destiny on the earth . . . .

Embedded in the Charter of the United Nations are the universal principles of the dignity of persons, the equality of races, the self-determination of peoples and the cooperation of nations for justice and peace on earth.

In this world of tensions between the races in both hemispheres, there is more need of perspective and understanding for the reduction and elimination of racial prejudice and injustice. Group prejudice and racial discrimination are not the original creation or private monopoly of any people. Consciousness of kind is and has long been a powerful force in human affairs. What was considered different in race, region, color and creed, was considered alien. What was considered alien was held to be dangerous.

The ages of history witnessed the successive classification of people as chosen and unchosen, superior and inferior, Jews and Gentiles, Greeks and barbarians, Romans and provincials, the civilized Mediterraneans and the uncivilized tribes of northern and western Europe, the celestial Chinese and uncelestial other people, the high caste and low caste people in India, the Anglo-Saxon and "the lesser breeds without the law." The conception of racial superiority reached its highest preten-

**Speech presented in North Carolina*

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(Continued)

sions in the Nazism of Adolph Hitler.

The armed Fascist-Nazi ideology of Aryan superiority was defeated on the battlefield and the misconception of racial superiority based on color of the skin and the shape of the head was found wanting in the scientific researches and social studies of the universities. It has been hoped by many people in our own South that racial prejudice and discrimination would give way in the transmission to youthful generations of these findings and the growing appreciation of the common heritage and the hope of the human race, the rich exchange value of the high culture of diverse races, the different but high achievements of persons of all races as belonging to the individual rather than to the race, and the growing consciousness of the inter-dependent oneness of the freedom, well-being and peace of all people.

Liberty

The lag in interracial justice in many communities, the on-rush of totalitarianism around the earth, and the advancing religious and democratic conception of the all inclusiveness of human freedom and dignity, were in the background of the decision of the Supreme Court in its widening interpretation of the meaning of "liberty" in the old Bill of Rights, as applying to all persons regardless of race in the District of Columbia, and the meaning of "equal protection of the laws," as applying to all persons regardless of race in the States of the United States.

Not as justification of racial injustices, but for more informed cooperation of the races for ending the wrongs and for more effective fulfillment of the new law of the land against racial segregation in the use of public facilities in our Southern States, four factors are found to be related to the persistence of racial tensions and the massive resistance to the acceptance of the law which changes old customs in these States. The four factors which are somewhat correlated to the extent of interracial tensions are: (1) the ratio of numbers; (2) the degree of the visibility of differences; (3) the differences in historical and cultural background; and (4) the economic competition of the low income groups of the different races.

These basic factors are more or less related to the varying degrees of tensions between yellow and brown, brown and black, and white and colored peoples around the earth. As we look down the centuries and across the world, the need becomes imperative for the people in churches, schools, business enterprises, labor unions and voluntary associations in all lands, to join in promoting the fulfillment of their own constitutional guarantees of human rights and the adoption of national covenants and the conventions in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations . . .

It was an American President who proclaimed to a warring world that one of the conditions of peace was the self determination of people, now asserted and applied by the colonial and colored peoples of the earth.

Across the tidal and delta lands, the mountains and rivers, the prairies and plains of our own America, and across the oceans and continents of the world, comes the call to the American people to be true to their own historic revolution and their own great Congressional declarations, Presidential proclamations and judicial decisions for the equal freedom, dignity and opportunity of all people regardless of region or race, color or creed, national origin or economic status.

In the unfolding of the faith and hopes of the American Revolution, two roadblocks have been thrown across the ways of their fulfillment: the misuse of the noble theory of States' rights and the political monopoly of suffrage rights held by exclusive groups of Americans.

States' Rights

States' rights, with its noble heritage from the Jamestown Assembly and Plymouth Rock, as the foundation stones of local self-government in America, was unsheathed by Jefferson in "the revolution of 1800" as the sword of liberty against the popular hysteria and federal tyranny of the Alien and Sedition laws. The theory of States' Rights, which had been the sword of liberty, became later in the South the shield of slavery, and after the Civil War, the weapon in the North for human exploitation and legal defense against Jane Addams' humane proposals for minimum wages and hours for women and children working in the heartless sweatshops of the great cities. In our time the theory of States' Rights has become the argument of massive resistance to the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court outlawing discrimination in the use of public facilities for education, transportation and recreation.

States' Responsibilities

One of the needs of the times is emphasis on a deepening of the growing conception of States' rights as States' responsibilities for the equal dignity and freedom of all persons in the States . . . .

Tensions will decrease with the increasing awareness that the decision of the Supreme Court in no way abridges the basic personal rights of privacy and friendship and is not counter to the general predisposition of peoples, with full regard for human freedom and dignity to preserve their own racial identity with its multicultural enrichment of the vigor and variety of the meaning and progress of America.

A second barrier to the sharing of the American dream was the exclusive policy of our political monopoly from which, we learned in our history, were excluded in many States of the Union (1) Jews, (2) Catholics, (3) people without land and property, (4) Negroes and (5) women. In the insurgent epochs of Jeffersonian, Jacksonian, Lincolnian and Progressive democracy, the ballot box was increasingly opened to all adult Americans regardless of creed, property, color and sex. The barriers of the monopolistic political oligarchy gave way before the insurgent currents of our expanding and advancing American democracy.

The only remaining barriers—both of the poll tax, cumulative in its exclusions in six states, and of the pro-

Standing Up

(Continued)

cedures for registration, discriminatory in practices on account of race in many communities of some States—cannot much longer hold back the presently combining spiritual momentum of 2,000 years and the unresting democratic momentum of more than a century and a half of American history . . . .

America has taught the colored youth the heritage and hopes of America and, in her heart of hearts, she would not have them deny that heritage or renounce that hope as they write a new chapter in the unfolding of the ideals of the American Revolution, renewing in their generation the resurgent springs of American democracy in need of fresh renewal from epoch to epoch . . . .

Negro Youth

The Negro youth movement began in a State which was both one of the original thirteen States and one of the eleven Confederate States. This Southern State was one of the first States to authorize its delegate to join in an American Declaration of Independence; abolished the poll tax in 1921; has long maintained a nine-month twelve-grade public school system for all children, urban and rural, white and colored; pays Negro teachers higher average salaries than white teachers. In a few communities Negroes have led the ticket for the town council and school board.

The story of the people of North Carolina, with all our faults and frustrations, struggles and hopes, is a part of the story of a people who, in the aftermath of war and desolation were, in their poverty and work, as unconquerable in the duties of defeat as they had been brave on the battefields against the great odds of a long and exhausting war.

Student Movement

As part of the story of the risen South and an expanding America, it is a significant fact that although only one-tenth of the Negroes in the world are in the United States, more Negroes are in colleges and universities in the United States than in all the rest of the world, now becoming increasingly open to all.

Not that there were more racial discriminations, but that educated Negro youth were more aware in that State of persisting discriminations, the indigenous Negro youth movement had its origin in North Carolina. It was not inspired or instigated by any subversive or un-American influence unless the Judaic-Christian heritage and the ideals of the American Declaration of Independence have in our time become subversive and un-American.

This movement of the college youth in the South is a contemporary expression of the on-going ideals of the American Revolution and a local expression of the world-wide revolution of the colored, colonial and exploited peoples of the earth.

In their faith and hopes, the Negro people of the South and all our American States, are, in the depth of their spiritual heritage and in the height of their American hopes, the most basically religious and the most fundamentally American of us all. In sitting down they

were in their heritage and hope standing up for the American dream. The colored and white youth of the Southern colleges and universities, who with Bibles in their hands, the national anthem on their lips and non-violence in their hearts, sought in the main, to make lawful petition that stores, which sold to the public, should provide for the same price the same quantity and quality of service to all.

They and their leaders seek to understand those who misunderstand and fear them; meet violence with non-violence; sorrow and wrongs with humor, laughter and songs; prejudice and indignities with love and brotherhood. It is their faith that the Cross, warm with the blood of human brotherhood, will yet triumph over all the burning crosses lighted with the hot oils of prejudice, privilege and power.

World Currents

The movement of American college youth may carry in its currents not only a rebirth of freedom in America but a survival of freedom and people on earth through a spiritual revolution in the ideas, faith and hopes of the people of the world . . . .

The physical descent of man must be reenforced with the spiritual ascent of man, an idea as old as 2,000 years and as young as the hopes of men, long considered impractical, has in the atomic age become the most practical and necessary idea of them all, the idea of the Fatherhood of one God and the brotherhood of all the people of the world. The primitive inheritance stored in countless ages deep down in the subconscious nature of man, the absolutism of the nation-states and the absolutism of atomic power, may, with the combined potentials of their explosive forces, break through all international economic, political and cultural incrustations and controls. In this age of the precarious peace of deterrent terror, the panicked press of a button may end the human race. In the war of nations, the hydrogen fallout carried by the winds of the world, may extinguish life in the far corners of two hemispheres, as remnants of people make their last human huddle on the farthest islands and in the remotest igloos.

At this late hour, the alternative to a reluctant and inadequate international cooperation and a lagging universal brotherhood, may become an accelerating universal annihilation.

In this world, when the roads of human destiny fatefully cross in the downward drift toward universal annihilation and the upward struggle toward more effective international cooperation through the United Nations, may this assembly mean the rededication of us all to equal justice under law and human brotherhood under God in this age of mortal peril and immortal hope for all mankind.

". . . But as in other instances, the South's resistance to investigation of voting rights renders its motives suspect. If there are no violations of such rights, why should there be fear of investigations? There is no logical argument against granting qualified voters the privilege of registering and casting their ballots. States still can set qualifications but there is no moral or legal precedent to deny the franchise to those who can meet them."

From the *Atlanta Constitution*
June 21, 1960

Birmingham Blues

From New Republic, May 30, 1960

Newspapers have published terrifying descriptions of the open warfare being waged by segregationists, and of the lack of legal restraints that exist today in Birmingham, Alabama. Strangely, one finds in none of the powerful indictments of the people of Birmingham and their public officials any serious effort to answer the question, "How did Birmingham get that way?

More than any other big city in the South, Birmingham is dominated by Northern capital. It is not a Southern city at all in terms of control or culture. It is the city of US Steel, of those who play the game Steel's way, and good race relations in Birmingham have never been an apparent concern to Steel. Indeed the election and re-election of a Police Commissioner like "Bull" Conner suggests the opposite. Backing from Steel and the financial powers of Birmingham for Conner, for the brilliant racist and former Governor, Frank M. Dixon, and for former Congressman Laurie Battle (who played on prejudices in his 1954 effort against Sen. John Sparkman with evangelical fervor) has helped to keep race a throbbing issue. Preoccupation with race diverts attention from the needed reapportionment of the state legislature which might end the effective alliance of Birmingham and the ultra-conservative counties of the Black Belt. Race keeps the voters from worrying too much about tax revenues for schools—which Steel and friends never fail to oppose. And race divides and weakens labor.

Let it be clear, however, that management in the North is not alone responsible for the national shame that is Birmingham. Labor is guilty, too. Somehow the fine phrases uttered at the AFL-CIO conventions do not reach—or at least do not impress—the men in the mines and rolling mills of Birmingham.

What about the Birmingham press? The morning *Post-Herald* has long been a member of the Scripps-Howard chain, based in the North, and the afternoon *News* was sold by local owners not long ago to Newhouse, another Yankee chain publisher. What is the stand of these Northern-owned newspapers on segregation? It could not be more faithful to Southern segregationist tradition.

Who's to blame for the shame of Birmingham? The people who live there, and the elected officials, local and state, who wink at the law, of course. But behind them run lines of economic and political power straight into New York, Washington and other cities in the North. The belief is inescapable that if the men at the other ends of these lines were to act with courage and in terms of the highest moral and national interest, they could improve things in Birmingham. When and if—that long delayed word trickles down South to "The Steel City," it may be surprising how many local citizens, now silent, will allow themselves to be counted for the rule of law.

My Brother's Brother

By Dr. Ben I. Heller*

Third Little Rock Conference on Community Unity

I have been charged with the task of exploring the nature and scope of the segregation problem facing our community and our state. I do not think that I can tell you anything new for all of the facts are now available and it becomes then a matter of analysis and interpretation of those facts; for with understanding, perhaps action and methodology can more readily follow. It is certainly not happenstance that has led your committee to choose a physician for this task, for our community, state, and region are suffering from a profound systemic illness. This is a multicentric illness which involves the mind, heart, and soul. As a clinician I might say that the illness is characterized by compartmentalization of the mind into logic-tight compartments, by a peculiar form of heart failure, and by spiritual deficiency of the soul.

I believe that a proper definition of segregation will help us define, in turn, the scope of the problem we face; and the best definition I have been able to find is that of Lillian Smith in "*Killers of the Dream.*" After the Civil War, says Miss Smith, it appears that Mr. Rich White made a bargain with Mr. Poor White. "Down South, folks began keeping their bargain. They began keeping their bargain to segregate southern living. They segregated southern money from Mr. Poor White and they segregated southern mores from Mr. Rich White and they segregated southern churches from Christianity, and they segregated southern minds from honest thinking, and they segregated the Negro from everything." How many of you have thought of segregation in this context? Look about you in Little Rock, in the state, and in the South and note the wisdom of Miss Smith's analysis. In essence, Miss Smith is saying that freedom is indivisible and that neither we nor our institutions can be free unless every citizen in our society is free. The question then becomes, How can we achieve this ultimate freedom?

Permit me to reverse the usual order of such a presentation. First, I should like to state the goal. Second, I shall examine with you those factors which are obstacles to the attainment of that goal. Third, I hope that we shall be able to explore together the methods and actions which are necessary to achieve our goal.

The first point in our discussion can be defined clearly and simply. I speak of the American Creed—the dignity of the individual, the basic equality of all men, and the inherent right to all to freedom, justice, and opportunity. The American creed is the very soul of Democracy, and if we all lived as Americans in keeping with this creed there could be no segregation, no intolerance, no bigotry, no exploitation, no pitting of class against class as has been done

**Associated with University of Arkansas School of Medicine at time of speech.*

Brother

(Continued)

by the demagogic governor in this state. The American creed, in short, must be our way of life, for in a democratic society there can be no other way of life, which satisfies the precepts and ideals of democracy.

Why have we not attained this simple, beautiful creed? To answer this we must examine the society around us. The cultural pattern of any community is fairly well set by four major components of our society.

1.) The Church
2.) Business and Professional Groups
3.) The Avenues of Communication
4.) Schools, Colleges, and Universities

These are the structures in society which must lead, must educate, must mold public opinion, and must be the standard bearers of the American creed. Wherein have they failed us in Little Rock, in Arkansas, and in the South? Common to each of these groups is conformity to the norms of Southern culture. The minister, the doctor, the businessman, the university president are first and foremost Southerners, then ministers and doctors, etc., and then Americans. This precludes leadership essential to solution of the problem, and the American creed cannot be lived in this context.

There are many facets to conformity. The majority of Southerners conform, I would think because this is the expected behavior in their social pattern. Pressure, if there be any, is purely intrinsic. I do not speak of this group. The four groups I speak of to whom the role of leadership belongs and would naturally fall would these groups but assume it, conform to a great extent because of extrinsic pressure. The minister conforms because of pressure from his congregation and the fear of losing a church which it has taken him years to build up. The business and professional groups conform because of fear of economic reprisals; newspaper editors conform from similar pressure. University presidents and teachers conform because of fear of reprisals from dictatorial, amoral governors and reactionary state legislatures.

But leaders who do not lead must create symbols to explain their failure. Conformity which is in conflict with morality and social justice must be rationalized, and thus there arises a series of absurd rationalizations adopted by our four groups. We have come to call this "the party line." Let us examine some of these symbols of our four group structures.

1. "I am a segregationist but I am for law and order."

These two statements are the antithesis of one another. The Fourteenth Amendment states that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." How can any person be for law and order and condone a dual system of justice?

How can anyone claim that he is for law and order and condone "tokenism" and the use of the pupil

assignment bill to evade and flout the law? Gunnar Myrdahl has captured the flavor of assumed respectability in the country clubs and private business and professional clubs of Little Rock when he states that "the South is the only area in the country, or for that matter in the world, where a man becomes a liberal by merely stating that he is for law and order."

2. "I am a moderate and I have no time for extremists on either side."

Does one equate freedom and justice on the one hand with immorality and mob violence on the other? Are there mild, moderate, and extreme views or degrees of freedom?

3. "You can't change things overnight. It takes time to do these things. The people won't stand for it."

All of these statements are merely confessions of failure of leadership.

4. "We were making progress in Little Rock until the sit-ins started. These problems should be settled in courts. The Negro has set himself back by participating in the sit-ins."

This attitude is one which seeks to evade the moral issue in the sit-ins. Such protests are, I believe, a measure of the effectiveness of the sit-ins.

5. "I catch it from both sides."

Does it make no difference that one side is right and the other wrong?

There are many other statements of the party line, there are many other symbols of the moderate Southerner, which demonstrate a sad failure of leadership which I might quote, but time will not permit.

Now, where do we go from here? First, I believe that few of us have had the courage required to measure up to the Little Rock crisis. I, myself, have been found wanting in this regard, for I, too, as a teacher, have been under extrinsic pressure and have failed at times to have the courage of my deep-seated convictions. We must all arise in a spirit of moral indignation and fight for that which is right.

Second, I believe that the mantle of leadership must be assumed by the church. From the church, leadership will readily flow to the other groups in the power structure. It has been proved in Little Rock that it cannot flow in the other direction. Pettigrew and Campbell in their book, "*Christians in Racial Crisis*" point out that liberalism is gradually replacing the previous conservatism in the major denominations. The seventeen leading denominations adopted only six resolutions between 1908 and 1929 bearing upon the race problem. During the 1930's they adopted sixty. But they adopted almost 100 in the first five years of the 1940's. Moreover, the announcements became increasingly more specific and more self-examining.

Third, I believe that we must continue to work on all other elements of the power structure.

In closing, let me leave you with three thoughts:

1.) The American creed—the dignity of the individual, the basic equality of all men, the right to freedom, justice and opportunity.

2.) The principles have been established; let us implement them with all resources at our command.

3.) In answering the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?", let us say, "No! I am my brother's brother."

Highlights from Recent Literature

New South summarizes recently published periodical, pamphlet, and book length material of interest to its readers. These synopses liberally paraphrase and condense the statements of the authors, although direct quotations are used whenever economy permits.

McMillan, George E. "SIT-DOWNS: THE SOUTH'S NEW TIME BOMB." *Look*, July 5, 1960. p. 21.

All the makings of a major American racial catastrophe similar to that of South Africa's are ready at hand in the South. The "Sit-Down" protests may hold the fuse that ignites the explosion. The crisis of law and order is so immediate that it calls for a new look at what has been the nation's approach to, and its responsibility in, the Southern racial problem. That approach has been gradualism: slow and evolutionary change. But when looked at against today's urgencies, gradualism shapes up as a failure. If there is a lesson in the current racial crisis, it is that the Southern climate is not democratic, and that gradualism will not work there because the essentials of gradualism—a flexible society in which competing claims are freely heard and fairly adjusted—do not exist.

The Negroes' claims for his legal and constitutional rights, not to mention economic opportunity and personal dignity, have run into a stone wall of denial and defiance from the white South. In the decade and a half since World War II, the Southern Negro has pressed his claims through the courts, in the democratic tradition, only to win his suits and lose his case. Today, he is fed up with legalism.

From my own observations, three realities must be faced: that racial discrimination is the number-one social problem of this decade in American life; that the situation is now in a deadly and dangerous stalemate and that the only agency that can do anything meaningful at this juncture is the Federal Government. Ample authority exists *now* for the government to start hiring Negroes on an equal basis in all Federal installations and to insist that Negroes be hired by all companies holding Federal contracts. There are steps the Federal Government can take now to see that the purposes of Federal aid are not twisted. A show of good faith from the Executive Branch of the Government might bring surprising results. Negroes will gladly accept true gradualism, but gradualism must mean "gradually forward, not gradually backward."

* * *

Guzman, Jessie P. "TWENTY YEARS OF COURT DECISIONS AFFECTING HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH. 1938-1958." Tuskegee Institute Press, Tuskegee, Alabama. 36 pp.

Beginning in 1896, when the U. S. Supreme Court pronounced its "separate but equal" doctrine, all public education in seventeen states and the District of Columbia became legally separate as well as unequal. But early in the 1930's, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People initiated a "blueprint" for a systematic

legal attack against educational discrimination. The university level was decided to be the first place to begin.

Within two decades, the Southern pattern of segregated education was completely changed by the ensuing court action. As of November 1, 1958, only four states still maintained separate institutions for white and Negro students: South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and legal differentiation in education because of one's race was no longer valid. Schools for Negroes, formerly meagerly supported, also felt the impact of changed conditions through increased course offerings and increased appropriations. Litigation aided in the crystallization of anti-segregation sentiment and in the creation of a climate within which other methods of eliminating segregation could be effectively used.

The bulk of Mr. Guzman's study is a review of cases decided during the years 1938-1958, interspersed with background information concerning each case.

* * *

Hill Herbert. "NO HARVEST FOR THE REAPER . . . THE STORY OF THE MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKER IN THE UNITED STATES." National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York, 48 pp., 50c per single copy. Photographs: George Moffett.

In the midst of the plenty of mid-twentieth Century America are two million people comparable in their destitution to feudal serfs, save that they are bound to no land. Their mobility is in many ways their tragedy. For these people must roam ceaselessly, often having no single place to call home. They are the American Migratory farm workers, over one-third of whom are native-born Americans—Negroes, in the majority. Another one-third are citizens of foreign nations who are brought here to work; the remainder are Mexicans who enter the United States illegally.

The American Government has neglected the migratory farm labor problem at all levels: Federal, state and county. The general public remains largely ignorant of or indifferent to, the problems of these laborers who, despite the deplorable conditions under which they are forced to live, the uncertainty of their work, and the lack of any normal relationship with an employer and with society, are productive workers and are absolutely vital to the agricultural economy of many states and the entire nation.

Mr. Hill reports on his investigations of the organization and operation of the migratory farm labor system and on the living and working conditions of the stream of migrants who start in Florida and move each year along the Atlantic Seaboard into the North and East. He concludes with an itemization of a vitally necessary 14-point legislative program which, with vigorous enforcement, would result in basic changes in the existing intolerable conditions, and a plea for broad and effective action by the government, the growers and management, organized labor, and all responsible elements in American society.

* * *

Congressional Quarterly Special Report, "CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION." Congressional Quarterly Incorporated, 1156 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. $1.00. 30 pp.

This special report reviews civil rights activity in the 85th and 86th Con-

Highlights

(Continued)

gresses. It records, analyzes, and organizes the events, competing proposals, debate and key votes in historical perspective.

A section on the activities of the Civil Rights Commission and Division is included as well as background information on sit-ins and the status of school desegregation. Also included are notes on parliamentary devices used to cut off debate, or, as in the following illustration, to delay.

Frequent quorum calls are an effective device for consuming time and catching breath. The Senate cannot conduct business unless more than half of its members (at least 51 Senators) are present, but under ordinary circumstances, the Senate usually assumes the presence of a quorum. However, it is the prerogative of any Senator, if he can get the floor, to initiate the calling of the roll by stating: "I suggest the absence of a quorum." Unless the quorum call is rescinded, the Senate Clerk calls the name of each Senator.

Quorum calls take, at a minimum, about 15 minutes to complete but ran for as long as one hour and 22 minutes during the 1960 filibuster. This not only provided respite for Southern orators but also placed the burden on Northerners to be present in sufficient numbers to avoid adjournment . . . .

When a quorum is not present, the Senate must either adjourn or direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to request the attendance of absent Senators. Southerners would prefer that the Senate adjourn because after an adjournment the Senate begins a new legislative day.

On each new legislative day, the Journal from the preceding day must be read unless, by unanimous consent, it is dispensed with. Insisting on the reading of the Journal, which can take several hours, is a filibuster technique. Also at the start of a new legislative day, the Senate must hold a "morning hour" for the introduction of bills, insertions of articles in the Congressional Record, etc. This "hour" can take as long as two hours.

SRC Publications

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer, an analysis of the treatment of racial news by the press.—30¢ single copy, 25¢ for quantity copies.

TOWARD A SOLUTION OF THE SIT-IN CONTROVERSY. Margaret Price, a round-up of events in the sit-in controversy including an analysis of methods used to solve the solution in various cities. (mimeographed)—10¢ per copy.

LUNCH-COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN CORPUS CHRISTI, GALVESTON, AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, Kenneth Moreland. (mimeographed)—10¢ per copy.

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"These are hard times for the orderly processes of law. Willful men have made them so . . . through undercutting it with defiance and the preaching of defiance, as with the central figures in the tragedy of Little Rock. Only under the leadership of good men can the orderly processes be restored in full effect. And in time they shall be."

From the *Arkansas Gazette*
July 17, 1960

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"Viewing the situation realistically, Alabama well knows that it has no choice but to open registration and voting booths to qualified Negro voters. Bombast and gestures of defiance will avail nothing in the end. Nor will pretense that there has been no discrimination in certain areas."

From the *Birmingham News*
May 11, 1960

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"Personally, I think it is wrong to advertise a restaurant or any business for use of the general public and then turn away a part of that public when it comes to be served."

Mayor Alexander J. Greene,
Rockville, Maryland,
Quoted in *Washington Post and Times Herald*
July 12, 1960

"The children suffer when their education is interrupted; the community suffers when industry will not move into such a situation and when people move to other places where their children may receive free public education, and the state suffers from the resultant blows to its economic and spiritual well-being. We therefore urge the governor of this state and the Orleans parish school board to use every expedient at their command to keep the public schools open."

Presbytery of New Orleans
Quoted in *The Times-Picayune*
June 23, 1960

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"We hope that Rep. James C. Davis will spread the good word to all those parts of the South which he regaled with horror stories a few years ago about the failure of integration in the National Capital. If he wishes to enlighten and not frighten, he can now report (1) that integration has worked here without any serious friction or disorder between the races; and (2) that educational opportunities have been markedly lifted for colored children without being in any way diminished for white children. The community as a whole is getting better schooling. This is the real meaning of the standardized test scores. They reflect great credit on the school administration."

From the *Washington Post and Times Herald*
July 12, 1960